

A HISTORY
OF
THE INDIAN MUTINY,

AND OF
THE DISTURBANCES WHICH ACCOMPANIED IT
AMONG THE CIVIL POPULATION.

BY
T. R. E. HOLMES.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

(With Two Maps and Six Plans.)

LONDON:
W. H. ALLEN & CO., 13 WATERLOO PLACE.
PUBLISHERS TO THE INDIA OFFICE.

1885.

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V2, L: 51. M57

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LONDON:

PRINTED BY W. H. ALLEN & CO., 13 WATERLOO PLACE S.W.

to discern the signs of the times, and demanded a punishment.* The multitude of counsellors still busily recording their opinions in elaborate minutes, when a telegram was passed from one to another, containing the first dim tidings of a disaster which all felt to be the heaviest that had yet befallen them.

Opinions of Canning and his counsellors thereon.

At the great military station of Meerut were quartered the 11th and 20th regiments of Native Infantry and the 3rd Native Cavalry. The station covered a great extent of ground, and was split into two parts by a deep ditch. On the northern side were scattered a number of officers' bungalows. Beyond them stretched the European barracks. The church stood between the barracks of the infantry and those of the cavalry. A long way off, on the opposite side of the ditch, were the native lines. The intervening space was covered by a wilderness of bazaars, extending southwards in the direction of the town.† The radical fault in the plan of the station was the great distance that separated the quarters of the European from those of the native troops.

The Lascar's story had caused even more excitement at Meerut than elsewhere. The English residents, however, feared nothing; for they were guarded by a dragoon regiment, a battalion of the 60th Rifles, and bodies of horse and foot artillery, forming altogether the strongest European force at any post in the North-Western Provinces. Still the officers, confident though they were, did not neglect the usual conciliatory assurances to their men. But the excitement was not abated. At length Colonel Smyth, who commanded the 3rd Native Cavalry, a hard and unpopular officer,‡ but one of the few Europeans that had discerned symptoms of disease in the sepoy

* It is fair to say that on the 12th of May Canning recorded a minute, concurred in by Dorin as well as the other members of Council, in which he said "I did not conceive, that . . . all graver punishments would be swallowed up in disbandment." Dorin's original minute, however, was conceived in a far more vigorous spirit than that of Canning. "The sooner," he wrote, "this epidemic of mutiny is put a stop to the better. Mild measures won't do it. A severe example is wanted . . . I would try the whole of the men concerned for mutiny, and punish them with the utmost rigour of military law."—*Ib.* p. 249, inc. 4 in No. 14, pp. 252-3, inc. 8 in No. 14.

† Cave-Browne, vol. i. p. 51; Thornton's *Gazetteer*, vol. iii. p. 449 sketch-plan drawn for me by an officer who was once quartered at Meerut

‡ See App. I.

resolved to take advantage of the order for tearing off the heads of the cartridges instead of biting them, to give a full explanation to his troopers. Accordingly, on the 23rd of April, he ordered a parade of the skirmishers of his regiment for the following morning. A rumour ran through the station that the skirmishers would refuse the cartridges; and a fire which broke out in the evening boded disaster. In the course of the night the colonel was informed that the men desired the postponement of the parade: but, as he had heard that the whole army was going to mutiny, he felt that to yield to such remonstrances would be a sin. Early next morning ninety

April 24.

men met him on the parade-ground; but, though he pointed out to them how the new regulation had been drawn up out of consideration for their scruples, five only would even touch the cartridges.* He could only break up the parade, and order a court of enquiry to assemble. The court elicited the fact that, as at Umballah, not genuine fear of the cartridges, but fear of public opinion had influenced the mutineers.† A report of the proceedings was sent to the Commander-in-Chief; and his orders were awaited. All this time nightly fires told of the evil passions which were working in the sepoys' hearts; but few heeded the warning. Early in May a message came from the Commander-in-Chief, ordering the mutineers to be tried by a native court-martial. They had virtually nothing to say in defence of their conduct. The court sentenced them to ten years' imprisonment; and General Hewitt, the commander of the Division, approved of the sentence for all, except eleven of the younger offenders, half of whose punishment he remitted. On the morning of the 9th of May, beneath a sunless sky darkened by rolling storm-clouds, the whole brigade was assembled to see the culprits disgraced. Stripped of their uniforms, these miserable felons were handed over to the smiths, who riveted fetters on their arms and legs. In vain they entreated their general to have mercy upon them. As they were being led away, they yelled out curses at their colonel.‡ Their brethren, choking with suppressed indignation, longed to strike a blow in their behalf; but fear was stronger than the thirst for vengeance. After gazing passively

* Pamphlet by Col. Smyth, printed for private circulation.

† *Parl. Papers*, vol. xlv. (1857, 68), Part 4, p. 178.

‡ Montgomery Martin, vol. ii. p. 148.

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*Disturbances which accompanied it among the
Civil Population.*

WITH TWO MAPS AND SIX PLANS.

BY

T. R. E. HOLMES.

Extracts from Notices by the Press.

"A narrative of thrilling interest."—*Harper's Magazine*.

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"The narrative of thrilling interest. . . . We cannot close this review . . . without testifying to the . . . determination to arrive at the exact truth on a matter that marks every page of Mr. Holmes's work."—*Literary*

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THOSE who may open this book will not, I think, complain that it is wanting in detail or in that element of personal adventure which could not properly be excluded from a History of the Indian Mutiny. But it does not profess to give a minute account of what took place at every station and in every district in India during the struggle. A narrative minute enough, in most of its chapters, to satisfy the most curious reader has already been given to the world by Sir John Kaye and Colonel Mangleson; and there is nothing to justify anyone in undertaking to write another book on the subject on the same scale as that which they adopted. The history of the Mutiny, like every other history, must indeed be told in detail, if it is to hold the interest of readers: but, while the narrator of recent events is expected to give a full account of all that are interesting in themselves, the writer who appears later in the field ought to reserve his detailed narrative for events of historical importance. There is, I am sure, room for a book

which, while giving a detailed narrative of the chief campaigns, of the stirring events that took place at the various centres of revolt, and of every episode the story of which can permanently interest the general reader, and a more summary account of incidents of minor importance, should aim at completing the solution of the real historical problems connected with the Mutiny. I am only too conscious how far my performance of this task falls below the standard which I have set myself. Still, I hope that my attempt may be of use. The whole truth about any period of history is never known until many workers have sought for it; and it is possible that a writer who has derived almost all his information from original sources may succeed in throwing light upon neglected aspects of his subject, and in gaining the attention of some who have hitherto known nothing of one of the most interesting chapters of their national history. Though this book is so much shorter than those which have preceded it, my object has not been to write a short history or a popular history, in the ordinary sense of the term, but simply to write the best history that I could; to record everything that was worthy to be remembered; to enable readers to understand what sort of men the chief actors in the struggle were, and to realise what they and their comrades and opponents did and suffered; and to ascertain what were the causes

of the Mutiny, and how the civil population of India bore themselves during its progress.

As I have found myself unable to agree, on certain points, with Sir John Kaye and Colonel Malleeson, it is the more incumbent on me to say that, if their books had never appeared, the difficulty which I have felt in finding my way through the tangled maze of my materials would have been greatly increased. In some cases, I am indebted solely to those books for information which I might have found it hard to get elsewhere. To students of military history Colonel Malleeson's work will always be indispensable.

In the last appendix I have given a short critical account of the authorities which I have used.

In conclusion, I desire to express my gratitude to those who have helped me by answering queries, or by allowing me to read private letters or manuscripts.

VINE COTTAGE,
LEE PARK, LEE.
October 8, 1883.

GLOSSARY.

[Words explained in the text are not given here. Nor are those which occur once only in the text, as they are explained in foot-notes. The words given below have also been explained in foot-notes, but are brought together for the convenience of readers.]

BBEESTY	Water-carrier.
BUNYAH	Grain-dealer or money-lender.
DACOITY	Gang-robbery.
JEMADAR	Native lieutenant.
LINES	Long rows of huts in which seppys lived.
NULLAH	A small stream or ditch.
RAJ	Government.
RYOT	Peasant-cultivator.
SUBARDAR	Native captain.
TERSEELDAR	Native revenue-collector.
TULWAR	Native sword.
VAKEEL	Agent, or man of business.

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APPENDICES.

APPENDIX, A

THE PATNA INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTION.

ONE of the first subjects to which Tayler directed his attention after being appointed Commissioner of Patna in 1855, was that of popular education. Arriving at the conclusion that the Government system was not only doing little for the attainment of its object, but was also regarded by the people as an engine of religious proselytism, he submitted to Halliday a plan for the establishment of an Industrial Institution, the expenses of which should be defrayed by the wealthy landowners, inasmuch as it was intended for their benefit and that of their ryots. He was careful, however, not to ask for any subscriptions until Halliday had expressed his approval of the scheme.* How cordial that approval was, may be gathered from the following words: "I have a great value for your plan, and think it may become a thing of vast importance. At all events, I look upon it that the idea is a creditable one, creditable to you as the originator, and one of which I shall be proud to partake the triumph, and pursue the gale." Moreover, such men as John Colvin, Dr. Duff, Dr. Mouat, and Major Holmes wrote to Tayler, expressing their admiration of his philanthropic efforts, and their hearty wishes for his success. Presently, however, it began to be rumoured that the collection of subscriptions from natives might be regarded by the Supreme Government, and even in England, as savouring of oppression. Halliday at once took the alarm. Apprehensive, it would appear, of possible censure, he issued a proclamation to the effect that no subscriptions would be acceptable unless they were offered in a purely

* He took this precaution because opinion on the subject of asking natives for subscriptions in aid of public works had always been divided.

spontaneous and disinterested spirit, without any reference to the wishes of Government or of the authorities.* By taking this step, he had not only thrown Tayler over, and held him up to the public gaze as an impostor, but had stultified himself. Tayler received numerous letters from residents in Behar, and various high officials, some of whom were intimate friends of Halliday himself, assuring him of sympathy, and expressing indignation at the treatment to which he had been subjected. The following extracts will suffice.

9 May, 1857.

“W. TAYLER, Esq.,

“I think the opinion is general that you have been perfectly successful in showing that you used no improper

* There is abundant proof in a MS. Memo. by Tayler, in the Industrial Institution Blue Book, and in Tayler's *Reply to Halliday's Memorandum*, that Halliday had himself repeatedly acted and spoken in a manner diametrically opposed to the principle laid down in his proclamation.

Thus in 1854 he went to Arah, to lay the foundation-stone of a charitable dispensary, for which Tayler, who was the Judge of that district, had been collecting subscriptions. At the close of a speech which he delivered after performing the ceremony, he turned towards Tayler, and said, “Honour be to him . . . *through whose influence this liberal subscription was raised.*” Again, writing demi-officially to Tayler in connection with the subject of the Industrial Institution itself, he said, “I quite agree with you as to model schools, and, if the great zemindars can be got to assist, it will be a great thing. Hutwa was greatly flattered by the notice you promised him for his efforts in the cause, and *I trust much to your influence with others as well as Hutwa to set this movement going.*” The absurdity of the principle enunciated in the proclamation can hardly be realised by those who have not either been in India, or conversed with experienced Anglo-Indians. “I would wish,” writes Tayler (MS. Memo.), “to protest emphatically against the notion that donations are ever given by the common class of native gentlemen . . . from pure unselfish or disinterested motives . . . if the contributions which have for years past been levied throughout the country by Governors, Collectors, and Magistrates, have ever been believed or represented as wholly spontaneous and disinterested contributions, made without reference to the wishes of Government, the believers and representers have either been profoundly ignorant or painfully insincere.”

The question then with regard to Tayler is narrowed to this. Did he use his influence for the collection of subscriptions improperly? The opinion which I have formed, after investigating all the evidence on both sides, is that he did not. See MS. Memo.; Halliday's Memo.; Tayler's *Reply to Halliday's Memo.*, pp. 6-14; *Correspondence regarding the Patna Industrial Institution*, pp. 41-2, 49, 68-9, 71-91, 94, 96, 98-101, 119-21, 136, 168-71, 174-6, 178-99, 207-12, 1 A-48 A, 80 A-82 A, 99 A, 100 A.

There is evidence to show that in some districts his proceedings caused no discontent whatever, that in others they did cause some. But it should be mentioned that much of the unfavourable evidence was supplied by men who were his personal enemies, and that no evidence was called for until after Halliday's proclamation was issued. If Tayler had used his influence with the most scrupulous forbearance, it would have been only natural for the native subscribers to withdraw their support from him after the highest authority in the province had done so. But, as a matter of fact, many of them continued to give their support. Assuming, then, that the unfavourable evidence was trustworthy, it does not prove that Tayler, even unconsciously and from an excess of enthusiasm for what he regarded as a great object used his influence unfairly.

means to obtain subscriptions; and secondly, that you acted throughout with the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor. I trust, therefore, that this blast of calumny which has assailed you will blow over soon, innocuously, and that Halliday will not allow himself to be influenced by popular clamour, though, between ourselves, that is one of his weak points.

“Yours, &c.,
(Signed) “E. A. SAMUELLS.”

27 May, 1857.

“MY DEAR TAYLER,

“The correctness of the general principle which you lay down as to the propriety of inducing wealthy natives to expend their money on works of public utility, and assuring them of the approval of the ruling authority in the event of their doing so, is quite undeniable.

“If I am not mistaken, you will find the principle distinctly enunciated in the notice or circular which the Government issued when they commenced the publication in the Gazette, of the names of those who had assisted or subscribed to public undertakings during the preceding year.

“Secondly, I gather from your letter that you have kept Halliday fully informed of every step you have taken in the matter, and notified to him, from time to time, the amount of the subscriptions you have succeeded in obtaining from the different individuals who have contributed to your scheme. That being the case, it was his duty to have interfered at that time, if he thought you were pressing too hard on the subscribers. To allow you to go on, and to express his tacit, if not his active approval of your proceedings, so long as they excited no opposition, and then, at the first breath of popular clamour, to discredit an officer in your high position, by issuing a proclamation as that you mention, and directing the judges to report on your conduct (for in fact it amounts to that), was, unquestionably, injudicious, to use a mild phrase, in the Lieutenant-Governor, and most unfair to you.

“Yours &c.,
(Signed) “E. A. SAMUELLS.”

Taylor at once wrote to beg Halliday to withdraw the proclamation, but in vain. It was about this time that the Mutiny broke out.* Suddenly a report reached Taylor to the effect

* See Taylor's *Reply to Halliday's Memo.*, p. 7. To the argument contained in the passage referred to, Halliday objects that Taylor could have carried on the controversy at Burdwan as well as at Patna. The same objection occurred to me; but an explanation soon presented itself to my mind. In order, however, to leave no room for doubt in the minds of those who might read this book, I wrote to Mr. Taylor on the subject. His answer was as follows —

“If I had been removed to Burdwan, distant about 400 miles away, who

that Halliday intended to remove him to the Commission-ship of Burdwan. To Tayler the motive of this intention seemed clear. Halliday, he believed, desired to put a stop to a controversy which must, if continued, lead to revelations injurious to his character as a man and a public officer. But Tayler was not to be crushed without a struggle. On the 7th of June he wrote to Beadon, saying that, while he was quite prepared to bring his Division safely through the storm if he were not interfered with, he felt it to be unfair that he should be expected to do so with the diminution of his authority and prestige which the report of his intended removal must produce. He therefore begged that either the report should be authoritatively contradicted, or he should be removed at once, without being kept longer in suspense. He received in reply a letter saying that his removal was not contemplated. "This," he afterwards wrote, "was; of course, Mr. Beadon's delicate way of announcing the real facts, . . . viz. that my removal was prohibited by the Governor-General." That Halliday had really intended to remove him,* he regarded as proved by the following letter which he received from Samuells.

June 11, 1857.

"MY DEAR TAYLER,

"You have, of course, heard ere this that Halliday has removed you to Burdwan; after the pains he has taken to destroy your influence at Patna, it was probably the only course left him.

"Yours &c.

(Signed) "E. A. SAMUELLS."

Those who will compare the preceding narrative with the account given in the text of the circumstances of Tayler's subsequent dismissal, will probably regard it as proved that the withdrawal order, which Halliday put forward as the ground of that dismissal, was merely used as a pretext, and that the dismissal was a foregone conclusion.

would have cared one farthing for any Patna Institution? *Not a soul!* The scheme required daily and nightly supervision; there was not a man at Patna who would have devoted an hour to the work; and what ground would there have been for further discussion? The Government would say, 'The thing is over; shut up.'

This answer was precisely the same as that which my own reflections had already suggested.

* Halliday's account of the matter is as follows: "I have for some time foreseen . . . his removal from the appointment of Commissioner of Patna . . . but for the consideration that, at a critical period, when . . . an outbreak (was) likely enough at any moment to occur (at Patna), it was desirable, if possible, to avoid making a change in the office . . . I should have been anxious to remove him at an earlier date."

APPENDIX B.

DID THE BENGAL SEPOYS PLAN A GENERAL MUTINY FOR
MAY 31, 1857?

MR. CRACROFT WILSON, who, after the suppression of the Mutiny, was appointed a Special Commissioner, to punish guilty and reward deserving natives, collected evidence which, in his judgment, proved "that Sunday, 31st of May, 1857, was the day fixed for mutiny to commence throughout the Bengal Army; that there were committees of about three members in each regiment, which conducted the duties of the mutiny; that the sepoys, as a body, knew nothing of the plans arranged; and that the only compact entered into by regiments, as a body, was, that their particular regiments would do as the other regiments did."—Kaye, vol. ii. pp. 107-8.

Major Williams, to whom I have repeatedly referred as an authority, did not believe that any plot was formed for a general mutiny. If, he argued, such a plot existed, the Meerut troops were insane to mar it by a premature outbreak. This argument, however, would not necessarily hold good if, as Wilson believed, "the sepoys, as a body, knew nothing of the plans arranged." The Meerut troops would not, in that case, have known that they were frustrating their leaders' plans; and, as their outbreak on the 10th of May was probably unpremeditated and the result of suddenly awakened passions, it would doubtless have been impossible then to induce them to bide their time.

John Lawrence, in his letter on the Mutiny (referred to on p. 538, note *), also combated the theory of a plot for a general mutiny. The reasons which he gave for his opinion were, that not one of the numerous letters which had been intercepted, written by sepoys, contained so much as a hint of such a plot, and that none of the faithful sepoys, none of the condemned mutineers who might have saved their lives by disclosing it, if it existed, knew anything of it.

These reasons have some weight; but they are not conclusive. The fact that a plot for a general mutiny was never hinted at in intercepted letters, by faithful sepoys, or by condemned mutineers, does not prove that no such plot existed; for, assuming the truth of Wilson's theory, the sepoys, as a body, were ignorant of the plot.

The question can never be positively settled. But the balance of probability seems to be in favour of Wilson.

APPENDIX C.

CAWNPORE.

It will be admitted that, whatever reasons Sir Hugh Wheeler may have had for believing that the sepoys at Cawnpore would not attack him, he was wanting in judgment if he did not provide, as far as it was possible to do so, against the contingency of an attack. It is contended in the *Red Pamphlet* (p. 135) that, if he had selected the magazine as a place of refuge, he would have been obliged, owing to the distance of the magazine from the sepoy lines, to withdraw the officers of the sepoy regiments from their men, and thus virtually invite the latter to mutiny. But he would have been justified in acting on the assumption that a mutiny was, under any circumstances, inevitable. "General Wheeler," wrote Neill, "ought to have gone there (to the magazine) at once; no one would have prevented him; they might have saved everything they had almost, if they had." Kaye, however, says (vol. ii. p. 295, note), "some military authorities may differ from Neill's opinion that no one could have prevented Wheeler from betaking himself with his women, children, and invalids, to the magazine." Neill is a high authority; and I venture to think he was right. The sepoys made no attempt to prevent the entrance of the non-combatants into the entrenchment. Is it likely that they would have had the courage and decision, or even the inclination, to oppose Wheeler if, after first disarming its sepoy guard, he had attempted to occupy the magazine?

P. 223. The statement in the text, that the Nana had lived on the most (outwardly) friendly terms with the English residents at Cawnpore, is supported by Mowbray-Thomson, pp. 48, 57, Trevelyan, pp. 64-5, 68-9, Shepherd, pp. 14-5, and the *Red Pamphlet*, p. 137. On the other hand, Mr. Keene says (*Army and Navy Magazine*, July, 1883, p. 195), "the Nana never willingly associated, in the slightest degree, with persons of that (the European) race from the day on which the Peshwa . . . died." The authority of Mowbray-Thomson, who lived at Cawnpore for three months before the Mutiny, and himself enjoyed the Nana's hospitality, is surely conclusive.

P. 223. "For . . . withheld." See *Army and Navy Magazine*, July, 1883, p. 196.

P. 224. "Some eighty men." This is Trevelyan's estimate. Mowbray-Thomson says 150.

Pp. 225. Tantia Topee asserted that the Nana was taken prisoner by the sepoys, and forced by them to attack Cawnpore. See Tantia's memoir, printed in vol. iii. of Mallet's *History*,

App. I. p. 515. Tantin's account is, on this point, unworthy of credit: he naturally wished to exculpate himself and his master. My account of the manner in which the alliance between the Nana and the sepoy was cemented, is supported by Mr. Keene (*Army and Navy Magazine*, p. 197), as well as by the other authorities to whom I have referred on p. 226; note.

P. 227. "One . . . position." In Plan No. 1, accompanying the *Depositions*, it is stated that Barracks 4 and 5 were occupied by the English, 1, 2, and 3 occasionally by the sepoy.

P. 229. "The siege . . . week." Shepherd (p. 44) gives the date of the fire as June 13. Nanukchund, in his *Diary* (p. xii.), assigned the event to June 11. As he was a very careful diarist, his statement is probably correct.

In speaking of the effects of the destruction of the barrack, Kaye (vol. ii. pp. 324-5) falls into a very natural blunder. He says that a number of faithful sepoy were obliged to leave the entrenchment, owing to want of food and of room. As a matter of fact, the sepoy of whom he was thinking were obliged to quit another barrack outside the entrenchment, in consequence of its being burned; and it was unfortunately impossible to admit them within the entrenchment. Mowbray-Thomson, p. 40; Shepherd, pp. 16-17; *Depositions*, p. 31.

P. 229. "12th of June." Shepherd (p. 29) says "the first grand effort was made on the 9th." Nanukchund (p. xii.) speaks of a great assault as having taken place on the 12th. Mowbray-Thomson (pp. 92-5) says that there was an assault on the night of the fire. If the fire occurred on the 11th, and if the assault took place after midnight, his statement agrees with that of Nanukchund.

P. 236. "Made for the shore." Delafossa, however, wrote, "After we had gone about three miles down stream, one of our party . . . to rest himself, began swimming on his back, and, not seeing in what direction he was swimming, floated to the shore, and got killed."—Shepherd, p. 92.

APPENDIX D.

THE DISMISSAL OF THE LUCKNOW SEPOYS TO THEIR HOMES AT THE INSTANCE OF MARTIN GUBBINS.

THERE are several versions of this affair. Captain Wilson wrote:—

"Gubbins forthwith began to give effect to his own policy of disarming and dispensing with all sepoy aid. Step by step he continued to carry it out; till, at length, all the Poorbeahs

. . . gave up their arms at the bidding of their own officers, and were started homewards with their furlough tickets. This was too much for Sir Henry. He dissolved the Council, and on the 12th resumed the active duties of Government . . . and, sending messengers after the sepoys who had left, had the satisfaction of seeing numbers return to their post, with tokens of delight, the honesty of which was verified by their loyalty during the siege." MS. Memo., quoted in *Life of Sir H. Lawrence*, p. 588.

George Couper, Sir Henry's secretary, supported Wilson's view in a conversation which he had some years afterwards with Sir John Kaye. *Hist. of the Sepoy War*, vol. iii. p. 499, ncte.

Colonel Edgell wrote:—

"At last, during Sir Henry's illness, in June, when a Council . . . were acting for him, it was determined to send away all who would be induced to go, on leave. Sir Henry, on resuming the direction of affairs a few days afterwards, approved; and the native brigade was reduced to about 500 men." MS. Memo., quoted in *Life of Sir H. Lawrence*, p. 589.

Gubbins himself, saying nothing of the view which Lawrence took of his action, wrote:—

"About 350 sepoys were allowed to remain." *The Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 148.

It appears to me that these accounts may be reconciled. Probably Gubbins's statement that "about 350 sepoys were allowed to remain," is his way of letting us know that Lawrence corrected his measure by recalling all who were willing to come back. He does not say by whom the 350 were allowed to remain; and he would naturally be unwilling to admit that his cherished policy had been interfered with.

I can see no other way out of the difficulty; for it is impossible to suppose that Wilson and Couper, who were intimate with Lawrence, were mistaken in saying that numbers "returned with tokens of delight."

APPENDIX E.

THE ASSAULT OF DELHI.

P. 364. "Jones unexpectedly . . . orders to do so." Kaye (vol. iii. p. 632) makes a statement identical in substance with this, and which, so far as I know, has never been contradicted. An officer who served on the Head-quarters Staff

has informed me that a report to the same effect was current in the British camp, but will not vouch for its accuracy. Another officer, late of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, who served with the first column, has written to tell me that he himself, a brother officer, and a few men reached the Lahore bastion, remained there a few minutes, and were then ordered to return. Probably this is the incident to which Kaye refers. I am almost certain that the officer late of the 1st Fusiliers belonged to that portion of the first column which, soon after entering the city, joined the second (see p. 364). For I gather from his letters and memoranda that he reached the Lahore bastion some time before the actual attack on it (see p. 367) was made; and therefore some time before Nicholson joined Jones. If my conclusion is correct, it was probably from Jones that the officer received the order to return. I do not believe that Nicholson would ever have given such an order. He would have been more likely to err in the direction of rashness. I ought to say that the officer himself believes that the order was judicious. He believes that, if it had not been given, he and his party might have been cut off from communication with the Cashmere gate, and exposed to a destructive fire from the enemy, when the latter returned from the retreat which they had begun (p. 355), and occupied the houses near the Lahore bastion. I venture to differ from him. I believe that, as he admits might have been the case, the mutineers, being Asiatics, would have been cowed by the sudden seizure of the Lahore bastion, and would not have dared to return from the retreat which they had begun; and I believe that the fatal attack on the Lahore bastion would have been prevented.

P. 367. Attack on the Lahore bastion. The authority to whom I have referred on p. 367, note, took part, I am nearly sure, in the attack on the Lahore bastion. But, according to a MS. Memo., written in this year (1833) by an officer late of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, who also took part in the attack, the houses on the left of the lane were merely mud huts, and "no fire was kept up from any point *in the lane*, but from the end of it, where the enemy had taken up positions in windows commanding its whole length." If the officer is right, "the low houses on the left," of which I have spoken, must have stood apart from and on the city side of the lane, and my statement (made on the authority of the writer in *Blackwood*) that "the enemy's sharp-shooters" fired from "behind the parapets of the bastions," is incorrect.

The writer of the Memo. also says, "it was generally reported that his (Nicholson's) own wish was to keep his troops in hand until the advance of the corresponding columns should draw off some of the enemy who were . . . barring his progress; but it is uncertain whether Nicholson received an order to advance, or whether, as was generally reported, he yielded to the advice of an officer." On the other hand, Malleson (vol. ii. p. 45) says that Seymour Blane (Nicholson's brigade-major)

and Major Jacob tried to dissuade Nicholson from advancing, but that he persisted, notwithstanding their advice, in doing so.

The spot where Nicholson fell was a recess abutting on the lane.

P. 370. "Wilson petulantly spoke . . . holding on." In the *Fortnightly Review*, for April, 1888, p. 544, Sir H. Norman says: "It is alleged (by Mr. Bosworth Smith), that he (Wilson), then became so nervous as to propose to withdraw the guns, fall back on the camp, and wait for reinforcements there. I do not believe this story." The story is, notwithstanding, at least substantially true. I believe that anyone will be convinced of its truth who will refer to Kaye, vol. iii. pp. 617-8 and note, and to Malleson, vol. iii. pp. 55-7 and note. But I possess additional MS. evidence which proves the truth of the story beyond the shadow of a doubt. On Sept. 14, Neville Chamberlain received a letter from Wilson, which he understood as implying that Wilson thought of withdrawing the troops from the city. Chamberlain answered the letter in such a way as to show that he understood it in this sense; and Wilson never repudiated his conclusions. The purport of Chamberlain's reply was, that Wilson had no alternative but to hold the town until the fall of the last man; that the mutineers must have been greatly demoralised by the loss of defences which they had long held, and of many of their guns; and that, if Wilson persevered, he would surely succeed. Baird Smith distinctly told Chamberlain that Wilson had thought about retiring. Moreover, it was commonly reported at the time that Wilson had also consulted Major Brind, and that Brind had replied that God had favoured us thus far, and would not desert us.

Sir H. Norman's article contains an elaborate defence of Wilson. Independently of the remarks which I have already quoted, the substance of his defence amounts to this, that, in spite of wretched health, Wilson did his best, and that, considering his circumstances, it is no wonder if he desponded. That he did his best has never been denied, but does not prove him to have been an able general. That he desponded is certainly not wonderful: but, as Baird Smith and others whose health was as bad as his did not despond, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that he was less stout of heart than they.

Pp. 370-1. "The debauch of Sept. 15." Sir H. Norman, in the article (p. 539) to which I have already referred, says: "compared even to our diminished strength, the number who thus (by drinking) incapacitated themselves were a mere fraction. (The italics are mine.) Sir Henry, however, is speaking, as I understand, of September 14. I do not think that what I have stated in the text is an exaggeration; for almost everyone who has written about the siege has dwelt emphatically upon the drunkenness which prevailed; and some speak of it

as having extended to large numbers of the troops. See Medley, p. 113; Seaton, vol. ii. p. 230; Bourchier, pp. 69, 70; Cave-Browne, vol. ii. pp. 186-7; *History of the Siege of Delhi*, by an Officer who served there, pp. 253-5; Lotton, p. 303; &c., and especially a letter from Wilson himself, quoted by Kaye, vol. iii. p. 621.

APPENDIX F.

HODSON OF HODSON'S HORSE.

Those who may wish to test the fidelity of my portrait of Hodson, whose character has been the subject of so much controversy, are referred to my article on "Hodson of Hodson's Horse" (*National Review*, Aug. 1884), to a letter addressed by me to the Editors of the *National Review* (Feb. 1885), to the Appendix to the sixth edition of Mr. Bosworth-Smith's *Life of Lord Lawrence*, to Mr. Hodson's *Vindication* in his *Hodson of Hodson's Horse*, and to a letter addressed by him to the Editors of the *National Review* (Nov. 1884).

The writer of a generally indulgent review, in the *Army and Navy Magazine* of March, 1884, of this book, says (p. 464), "It is not true that Hodson 'saw a large crowd surging round the cart and menacing the escort.'" It is true, unless the statements of the original authorities for the story of the slaughter of the Princes are to be disbelieved. See Rev. G. H. Hodson's *Hodson of Hodson's Horse*, pp. xv, xvii, 224, and a note on pp. 810-11 of my article in the *National Review* for August, 1884.

APPENDIX G.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN PRESS ON SIR COLIN CAMPBELL.

INDIAN journalists wrote many long and tedious invectives against the slowness of Sir Colin's movements, and often compared him, to his disadvantage, with Sir Hugh Rose. The *Calcutta Englishman* went so far as to say that he was the very worst Commander-in-Chief that had ever appeared in India. But Sir Colin acted on the principle of thoroughly reconquering, not merely overrunning, every district that he invaded. He had noticed that Greathed and others, though they had

won every battle which they had fought, had not been able to lay any permanent hold upon the districts which they traversed. He therefore determined to do his work surely, if slowly. The Indian journalists seemed to forget that, even after Rose's great and uniformly successful campaign, bands of plunderers continued to infest Bundelcund and the Saugor and Nerbudda territories.

APPENDIX H.

THE AUTHORITIES ON WHICH THIS BOOK IS BASED.

THE authorities for the history of the Indian Mutiny may be grouped as follows: (1) *Parliamentary Papers*; (2) *Enclosures to Secret Letters from India*; (3) Administration Reports for the several Presidencies and Provinces; (4) the *Calcutta Gazette*; (5) the various Gazetteers of India and its Provinces; (6) Narratives written by actors in or witnesses of particular episodes of the struggle, or by inquirers who derived their information from authentic sources; (7) articles in English or Indian magazines; (8) letters in English or Indian journals; (9) miscellaneous documents published in India; (10) pamphlets; (11) unpublished letters and journals.

The *Parliamentary Papers* contain telegrams, despatches from civil and military officers, demi-official and private letters, proceedings of courts of inquiry, narratives of survivors, &c. They must not be followed blindly, as statements made in one page are often contradicted in another. The most interesting documents in the collection are the Punjab Mutiny Report and Evidence taken before the Court appointed for the Trial of the King of Delhi. The references which I have given are according to the volumes in the Library of the British Museum.

The *Enclosures to Secret Letters from India* are contained in a series of MS. volumes in the Political Department of the India Office. Many of them are printed in the *Parliamentary Papers*; but many others are, so far as I know, only to be found in these volumes.

The Administration Reports were published in India, and are to be obtained from the Record Department of the India Office. They contain valuable information and statistics relating to the behaviour of the civil population.

The *Calcutta Gazette*, which, like the Gazetteers, is to be found in the India Office Library, contains a number of military despatches not to be found in the above-mentioned collections.

The books in the sixth class are of very unequal value; but I could not have afforded to neglect any of them absolutely.

The articles in the magazines supply a few facts here and there; but the only ones of much historical value are those written by actors in the Mutiny, notably the articles in *Blackwood* on the "Campaign of 1858," and the "Pursuit of Tantia Topce," and that in the *Calcutta Review* on "A District during a Revolt."

The letters in the newspapers contain a great deal of interesting personal detail, but must be read with caution.

Of the miscellaneous documents published in India those which have been most useful to me are the Blue Book on Mr. Taylor's case and the collections of depositions of evidence taken by Colonel Williams at Meerut, Moradabad, and Cawnpore.

The pamphlets, which are very numerous, are, with a few exceptions, utterly worthless, except as evidences of the opinions and passions of those who watched the course of the struggle.

I have sought information, by conversation or correspondence, from actors or relatives of actors in the Mutiny, whenever I have felt it necessary or advisable to do so; and in almost every instance my inquiries have been kindly, fully, and patiently answered.

I have also consulted a few works which could not be included in any of the above classes, but which are referred to in the foot-notes. Lastly, there are certain documents in the India Office which I have not been allowed to see. I suspect that, if I have thus lost anything, it has been information on matters of purely personal rather than historical interest.

Anglo-Indian history is simpler than that of Europe. The immense extent of India and the number and diversity of the races who inhabit it make it difficult indeed to give artistic unity to one's history: but the fact that the Government was despotic makes the political and sociological problems far less complex than those which beset the student of European history. The difficulty is not so much to find out the truth as not to lose oneself in the enormous mass of materials. As a rule, the writers of the records which we possess were not under any special temptations to misrepresent facts; many of the records were written a few hours only after the events which they describe, and by men who had witnessed or taken part in those events. On the whole, then, I believe that the evidence which we possess for the history of the Indian Mutiny is as complete and credible a body of evidence as there is for any history. On the other hand, the difficulty which a European feels in trying to understand natives, the difficulty of getting native witnesses to speak the truth, and the marked divergencies of opinion which prevail among the various schools of Anglo-Indian officials are drawbacks which must not be underrated

APPENDIX I.

DISCUSSION ON CERTAIN STATEMENTS CHALLENGED BY
CRITICS OF THE FIRST EDITION.

P. 64, "in which . . . plunder." A writer who reviewed this book in *Vanity Fair* denied the truth of this statement. I have left it unaltered for the present, as several well-informed Anglo-Indians, who read the book very carefully and sent me notes, passed it without remark.

P. 80. "The Brahmins . . . population." A writer in the *Saturday Review* (May 10, 1884) says, "We are startled to hear that the Brahmins of Calcutta are 'the most cunning and the most formidable of their order,' and that they exercised a bad influence over their brethren in the North-Western Provinces. That the Mukarjis, Chaturjis, Banerjis, and others are astate, proud, and litigious, is generally admitted; but they have very little connexion with the Misrs and Dhobes of Upper India." My statement, which I shall leave unaltered until I obtain proof that it is wrong, was based on the authority of Mr. Robertson (*District Duties during the Revolt*) who was Joint-Magistrate of Saharunpore in 1857. See also Kaye, vol. i. pp. 493, 496.

P. 95. "Colonel Smyth . . . unpopular officer." Shortly before the publication of the first edition of this book, I received from Major-General Smyth a pamphlet, in which testimonials were quoted to show that he was a general favourite with natives, a man of fine temper, and a very popular commanding officer. These testimonials were referred to in self-defence, as Kaye (vol. ii. pp. 43-4) had said that Colonel Smyth (as he was in 1857) was unpopular. I had formed the same opinion from reading a letter from Mrs. Craigie to the *Daily News* of July 29, '57, and the statement of an eye-witness as to the way in which the condemned troopers of the 3rd Cavalry showed their feelings towards the colonel on the punishment parade of May 9. Moreover, Dr. O'Callaghan, late surgeon of the 11th Native Infantry, has assured me in very emphatic language, that the colonel was hard and unpopular. I have, for these reasons, left the statement in the text, to which no one but Major-General Smyth himself has taken exception, unaltered. By some of those under him he was evidently disliked, and regarded as hard; others may have been devoted to him. I naturally regret that my statement should have pained him; but, as I believe it to be true, I cannot retract it.

P. 99. "Colonel Smyth indeed . . . perfect order." In Major-General Smyth's pamphlet it is stated that Lieutenant

Melville Clarke had a troop of his own; that, as adjutant, he ought to have been with his commandant, and to have got all orders from him; and that only six or seven men of Captain Craigie's troop remained faithful. Moreover, a correspondent of Major-General Smyth's implies that both Clarke and Craigie ought to have been court-martialled for presuming to go anywhere without orders. What I have written about these officers was based upon statements of Kaye (vol. ii. p. 64) and a letter to the *Times* of July 24, 1857, from Mrs. Craigie, and is confirmed by a pamphlet entitled *The Fatal Fall at Meerut* (published at Calcutta in 1861) by Dr. O'Callaghan, who got his information on the matter in question direct from Craigie himself. I am therefore certain that Craigie *did* bring back his troop in perfect order to the parade-ground, though he may afterwards have been deserted by all but a few of his men. Considering the circumstances under which he acted, I think that few officers will agree with the opinion expressed by Major-General Smyth's correspondent.

Major-General Smyth says that he did not go to his regiment after it mutinied simply because it was his duty, as field-officer of the week, to go in person to inform Hewitt and Wilson of the outbreak. I cannot but think that he would have shown more judgment if, at such a crisis, he had disregarded routine, and, entrusting the duty of informing his superiors to others, had gone straight to the scene of mutiny. This opinion is shared by officers to whom I have mentioned it.

P. 381. "The soldiers' eagerness . . . collection of the revenue." Mr. Sapte, the civil officer alluded to in this passage, wrote to me, protesting against it, and referring me to a letter addressed by him to the *Friend of India* of Nov. 4, 1858. This letter I had, as the reader may see, already read, and referred to in a foot-note; and, after carefully re-reading it and another, to which I had also referred, written in reply, I see no reason to alter the passage.

ERRATUM:—On page 387, *delete* note †.

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